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ABSTRACT

As a part of the final report of the National Study of American Indian Education, this document contains findings of the first background study on the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin. This document reviews important sociocultural and historical factors associated with the Menominee. Socioeconomic conditions are also discussed, especially in light of problems associated with termination of the reservation. The history and current conditions of Menominee Enterprises, Inc., are presented. In addition, findings of the research project conducted by the Menominee Community Action Program Training Center for Community Programs are summarized; this project sought to isolate important education-related variables in the adult Menominee community. Although the educational background of the county is presented in a forthcoming paper, educational characteristics and data are given. Data indicate a high correlation between socioeconomic status and level of formal education or training experience. It is concluded that, with increased educational attainment, needed changes will develop in the socioeconomic conditions of the Menominees; however, the quality of formal education is at least as important as amount of formal education. (AN)

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THE NATIONAL STUDY OF
AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

Series I
No. 23

THE FORMAL EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE INDIAN CHILDREN: SOCIOCULTURAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND FACTORS

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1970

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

The attached paper is one of a number which make up the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education.

This Study was conducted in 1968-69-70 with the aid of a grant from the United States Office of Education, OEC-0-8-080147-2805.

The Final Report consists of five Series of Papers:

I. Community Backgrounds of Education in the Communities Which Have Been Studied.

II. The Education of Indians in Urban Centers.

III. Assorted Papers on Indian Education--mainly technical papers of a research nature.

IV. The Education of American Indians--Substantive Papers.

V. A Survey of the Education of American Indians.

The Final Report Series will be available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service after they have been announced in Research in Education. They will become available commencing in August, 1970, and the Series will be completed by the end of 1970.

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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

April 29, 1961

FEDERAL TRUSTEESHIP ENDS FOR MENOMINEE TRIBE*

The Department of the Interior announced the discontinuance of Federal trust supervision over the tribal property of the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin and the ending of special service to the tribal members because of their status as Indians.

The actions were taken under provisions of the Menominee Termination Act of June 17, 1954, as amended, and will be effective at midnight April 30. However, legislation now pending in Congress would extend the period of Federal responsibility, and if Congress enacts it before midnight Sunday, the Department's announcement would be voided.

A secretarial proclamation of the termination of Federal trusteeship and special services is being published in the Federal Register.

The Federal Register also is publishing the Plan for Future Control of Menominee Indian Tribal Property and Future Service Functions. This plan was developed by the Tribe with technical help from various sources and was approved by the Department of the Interior several months ago.

Title to all the tribal property, both real and personal, is being transferred through the proclamation from the United States Government to a tribal corporation chartered by the State of Wisconsin and organized under provisions of the amended Menominee Termination Act.

P. N. 92418-61

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*Fay, George E. (ed.) Journal of the Wisconsin Indians Research Institute. Oshkosh: Wisconsin State University. Vol. I, No. 2. 1965, p. 6.

GENERAL STATUS OF MENOMINEE COUNTY*

Menominee County has suffered from unemployment, under employment, high birth rate, low family income, and general economic stagnation. In 1960 the Unites States Bureau of the Census reported that over 90 percent of the families had an income of less than a $1,000 per annum. In 1965, it was reported that annual income ranged from $0 to 2,999 for 88 percent of the families; $3,000 to 4,999 for 7.8 percent of the families; and $5,000 to 7,999 for 4.2 percent of the families. In 1967 annual income was $0 to 2,999 for 76.8 percent of the families; $3,000 to 4,999 for 11.8 percent of the families; $5,000 to 7,999 for 8.6 percent of the families; and $8,000 to 9,999 for 2.8 percent of the families.

The major economic problem has been the broadening of the tax base. Not only is Menominee Enterprises, Inc. (MEI) the county's major taxpayer, paying approximately 82 percent of taxes, but it is also the county's major employer. Approximately 70 percent of the labor force is employed by MEI. Because of the economic ties, a knowledge of MEI is prerequisite to an understanding of Menominee County's problems. [Emphasis added]

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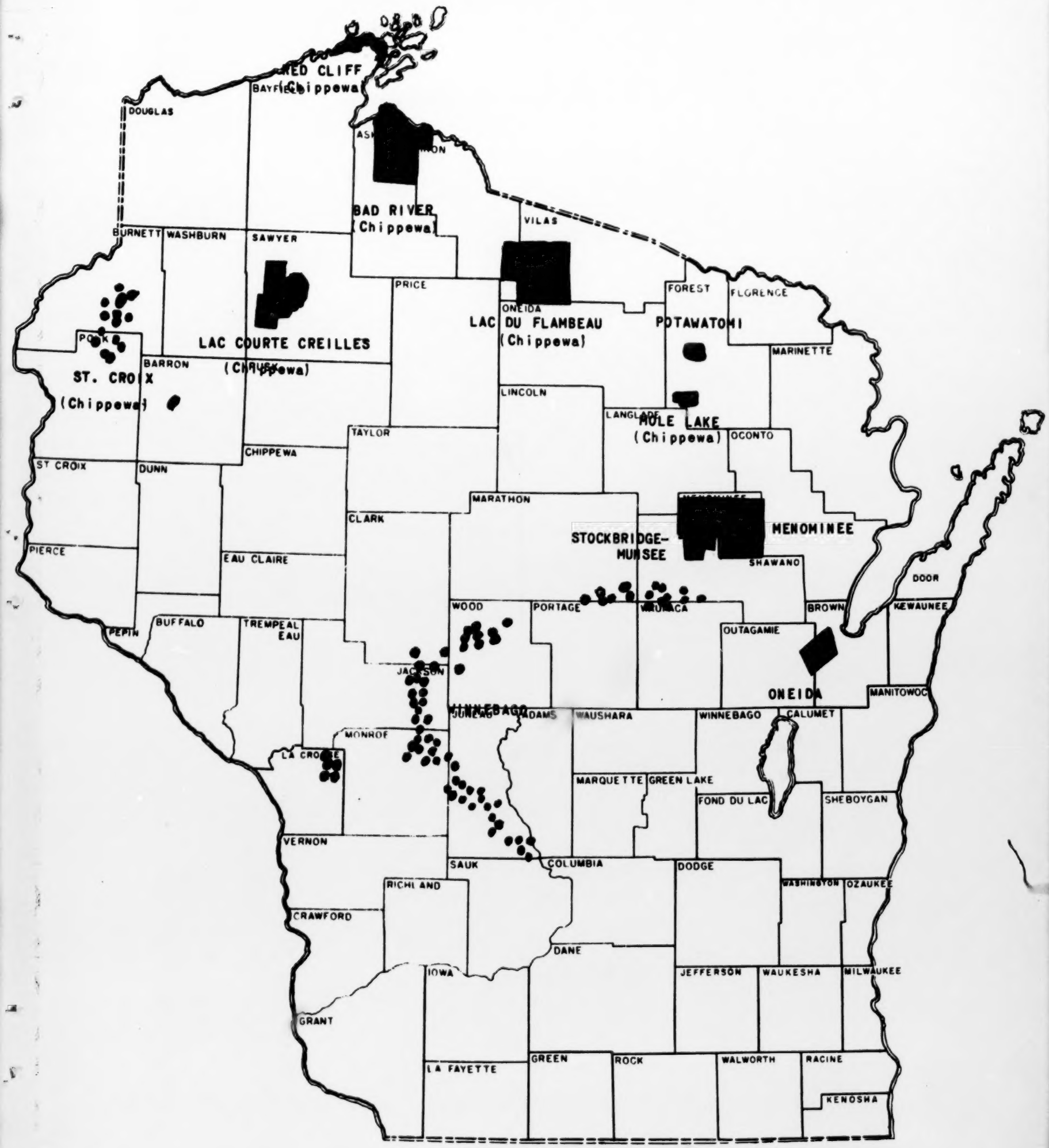
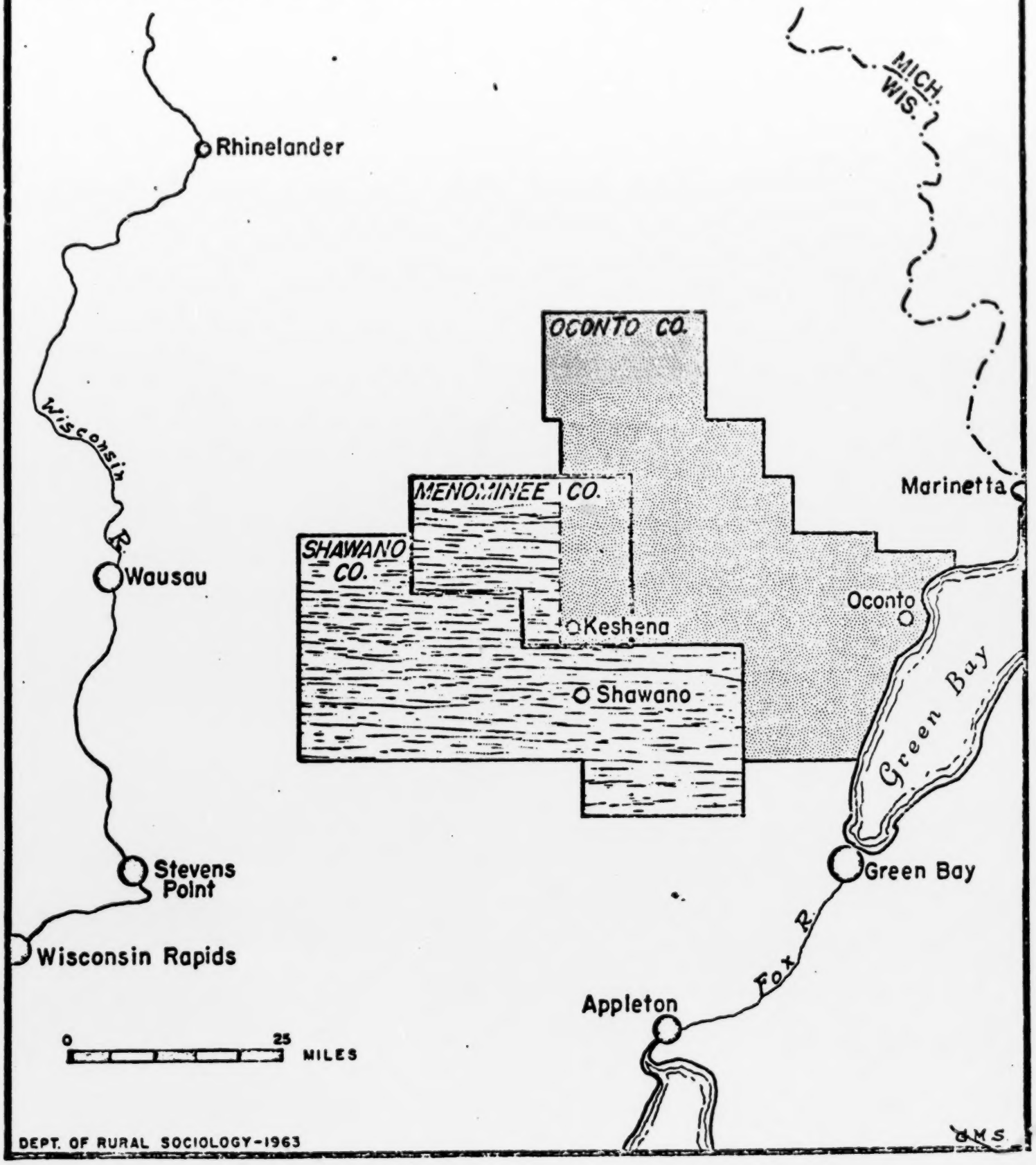
*LaFave, Reuben, Robert Warren, James G. Frechette, et. al. Report of Menominee Indian Study Committee to the Wisconsin Legislative Council, Vol. VIII. January, 1970.

LOCATION OF INDIAN SETTLEMENTS IN WISCONSIN

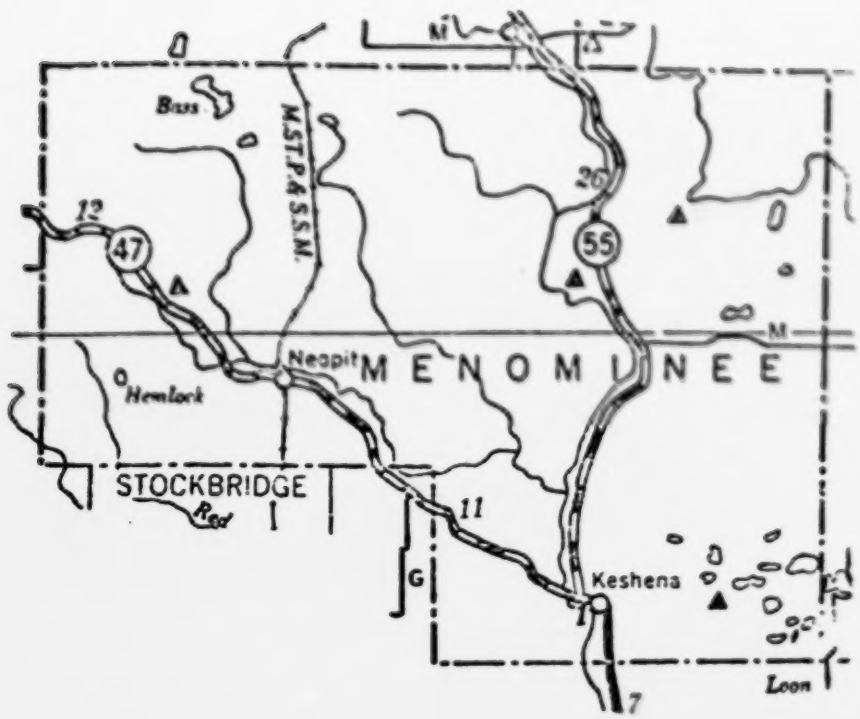
1962



LOCATION OF MENOMINEE COUNTY, WISCONSIN,
SHOWING PARTS OF SHAWANO AND OCONTO COUNTIES WHICH WERE INCLUDED IN MENOMINEE COUNTY



MENOMINEE COUNTY



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Introduction to the First Background Study

In 1955, George D. Spindler published a work on the Menominee people which was to gain extensive appreciation, both by professional anthropologists and by Menominee Indians themselves.[1] Spindler's study divided the adult Menominee Indian population into a "continuum of socio-cultural adaptation" which ranged from "a native-oriented group still clinging to much of the aboriginal pattern of life, to a socio-political reservation elite" who more closely approximated a "middle-class American culture type."[2] For research purposes, Spindler divided his acculturation continuum into "four levels of adaptation" to western culture. The continuum had five population categories:

1. the native-oriented group, in which the Medicine Lodge... and Dream Dance...organizations are maintained, and patterns of life from the aboriginal culture survive to the greatest extent;

2. the Peyote Cult group, in which the members have found a special solution to the strains created by the adaptative process;

3. the transitionals, who have had experience with both native and western-oriented religious groups, but who maintain clear-cut identification with neither, and in general indicate that they are culturally and socially suspended between two ways of life;

4. a category of persons who appear to have adopted a thoroughly Western way of life, but who do not occupy a high position in the occupational or power structure of the reservation;

5. a category of persons who approximate an American middle-class pattern of life, and who receive the occupational, monetary, and prestige rewards available in the reservation community in the greatest degree.

Spindler's five categories of population, representing four levels of "socio-cultural adaptation" were supposed to constitute a "synchronic continuum" of "ordered categories," and a host of "psychological adaptations" related to the various sequential categories. For our purposes in this background study, perhaps the most useful conclusions from Spindler's research are the following:

> Despite much cultural disintegration, continuity between the aboriginal way of life and that of the contemporary native-oriented group can be demonstrated and provides justification for treating this group as the base line of the synchronic continuum. Two

> general themes characterize the patterning of the contemporary group culture. The first consists of an attitude of dependence upon power received from supernatural agencies for accomplishment or failure in the acts of life, and this attitude is accompanied by a passive acceptance of fate. The second is expressed in the careful constraints placed upon overt interpersonal aggression, with self-control, humility, and concern for others extolled as ideals for behavior.[3] [emphases added.]

Spindler treated Menominee acculturation and adaptation in a later work.[4] Referring again to the adaptation categories and to continuum acculturation, Spindler concluded that the native-oriented Menominee situation was doomed:

> I would like to feel that a system of [traditional Menominee] kind would endure forever, but the powerful industrial-political forces for change towards a sociocultural system and a character type more suited for aggressive, competitive, exploitive human relationships are inexorable. The Menomini way of life is doomed despite its staying power, as are hundreds of others formed over millennia as man groped his way along various and dramatically different paths to separate solutions to the problems of human existence. The native-oriented Menomini know that their way is threatened. They fight to retain it. With self-conscious determination parents say of their children, "We have to try to get 'em on our side. They're Indians and they'll always be Indians." But the older people know that doomsday has come.[5]

Other students of Menominee culture will essentially support this doleful prediction as we review their works throughout the remainder of this report. Our procedure in this background report will be to review important sociocultural and historical factors associated with the Menominee and their Wisconsin lands; to review socio-economic conditions, especially in light of grave problems associated with termination; and to summarize the findings of a recent Menominee CAP-Training Center for Community Programs research project which sought to isolate important education-related variables in the adult Menominee community.

Menominee Historical Background

Perhaps the most recent and succinct summary of important highlights in Menominee history as it relates to current conditions is found in the Handbook on Wisconsin Indians[6] published with the cooperation of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, and written by Joyce M. Erdman, a Research Assistant for the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights. The excellent quality of this summary has led us to include it here in its entirety as an introduction to more detailed treatment of some events and trends in Menominee life.

The Menominee Indians

> The Menominee Indians represent a special category in Wisconsin. They are no longer regarded as Indians by the federal government. Thus, unlike other bands, they are not eligible for aid under trusteeship status. They are full fledged citizens of Wisconsin with all the rights and responsibilities of any other people settled within the boundaries of the state. But the Menominees, in contrast to other ethnic groups, have other than cultural ties binding them together today and setting them apart. They have their own county - the 72nd in Wisconsin - and their own government; they have their own industry and are stockholders in the Menominee Enterprises; and they have their own special set of problems, economic and social, which qualify them for the beyond-the-ordinary attention which has been given them already and will continue to be devoted to them.

History

When the French explorers and fur traders came to Wisconsin in the mid-seventeenth century, they encountered a peaceful tribe of woodland Indians, hunters and fishermen and gatherers of wild rice, whom they called the Menomini. The French influence was strong and it is apparent today in the many French names of Menominee families and in the predominantly Roman Catholic faith of the tribal members.

With the westward migration of the American colonists, Menominee lands were ceded by a series of treaties to the newcomers. The famed Menominee chief, Oshkosh, acted for the tribe in these negotiations and is credited generally with preventing the removal of the Menominees to Minnesota, obtaining instead a final treaty in 1854, which gave them an area of 12 townships of 276,480 acres of forested land. Two years later two of the townships in the southwestern corner were allotted to the Stockbridge-Munsee Indians, leaving a final total of 233,902 acres for the Menominee reservation.

In the years that followed, two factors stand out as contributing decisively to the well-being of the tribe. First, following the General Allotment Act of 1887, when other Indians were losing their

properties through sale of their lands and inability to pay taxes, the Menominee leaders rejected the allotment system and elected to hold the lands in common under tribal rule. The reservation therefore remained intact and, as a single parcel of land, it qualified for special legislative attention. Second, in 1908 Congress passed the LaFollette Act establishing for the Menominees a selective logging operation on a sustained yield basis. A forestry survey showed that 20,000,000 board feet of selected timber could be cut each year without in any way decreasing the overall supply of trees. With the careful planting of new trees and the cutting of mature ones, the total amount of standing timber trees on the reservation has remained approximately the same as it was in 1908. This act also authorized the use of tribal funds for a modern sawmill which was built the following year at Neopit, replacing the former 60 year old mill and becoming the chief source of support for tribal members.

In 1951 an award of eight and one-half million dollars to the tribe set in motion events which led just a few years later to termination of all federal control over Menominees. The Court of Claims award, based on the Menominee claim that the government had mismanaged the sawmill operations, could not be released without Congressional appropriation. However, when Congress reviewed the proposal of a per capita payment of $1,500 to tribal members as their share of the eight and one-half million dollars, it was made clear that they could not expect payment unless they accepted an amendment terminating federal supervision. Subsequently in a general council meeting the Menominees voted 169 to 5 in favor of the principle of termination.

The original Menominee Termination Act of 1954 set December 31, 1958 as the final termination date. The deadline was later extended to April 30, 1961.

Termination

The ending of all federal supervision and responsibility for the Menominees caused a major impact not merely on Indians, but on the state of Wisconsin as well. This group of 2,500 Indians, long isolated from the mainstream of the culture about them, with little responsibility for their own affairs - ill-housed, underemployed, poorly educated, and, as it turns out, in poor health - was now expected to move ahead to self-government and self-support. Adjudged among the most prosperous of all tribes in the country, still the fact was that in comparison to the non-Indians around them they represented a community of dire poverty.

The seven years during which the tribe prepared for independence and the state arranged to accept this new group of citizens into Wisconsin political and economic life were characterized by innumerable surveys and planning projects. The result was an orderly transferral of governmental authority and responsibility from federal

officials to state and county representatives on the one hand, and to private management of the mill and forest operation on the other. The reservation formerly located in Oconto and Shawano counties was, by popular vote of the Menominees and by legislative enactment, made into Wisconsin's 72nd county.

Most tangled and perplexing of all problems facing the Menominees was the question of the ownership and future of the mill operations. The establishment of the Menominee Enterprises with stock certificates and income bonds held by enrolled tribal members - but controlled by a board of directors composed of both Indians and non-Indians - proved to be a practical and workable solution. Because the corporation had to bear more than 90 per cent of the total county taxes, it was more than obvious that the affairs of Menominee County and Menominee Enterprises were totally interdependent and interlocked. The relationship of these two controlling units had to be delicately regulated to ensure management policies which would serve the best interests of both and avoid conflicts of interest between public and private groups.

Population and Land

Menominee county covers 233,902 acres of heavily forested land in northeastern Wisconsin. It is the largest single tract of virgin timber in the state, a magnificent area of towering pines and rushing waters of the Wolf River. The four unincorporated villages of Keshena, Neopit, Zoar and South Branch are combined into a single township, the boundaries of which are the same as those of the county. Keshena and Neopit are the major population centers.

The tribal rolls as of March 1956 listed 3,252 members of whom nearly 700 lived off the reservation, mainly in urban centers such as Milwaukee, Chicago and Detroit. Only 75 of the members were counted as full blooded Indians in 1952.

A 1964 survey lists 2,526 county residents, of whom 57 per cent are under 19 years old and 5 per cent over 65. Thus the balance of 38 per cent, or 960 persons, comprise the labor force in the county. The family units in the county total 496 with an average of five children per family.

Economic Resources

Menominee Enterprises is the largest single employer in the county with approximately 250 full-time workers at the mill and in the woods at an average income of $3,760, and 170 part-time at an annual income of $1,100. In 1965 the corporation provided about 95 per cent of the earned income in the county. The county itself employs close to 40 men, mainly in administrative and highway work. There are few other sources of regular jobs in the county, making

it evident that out of a labor force of 960, less than half have steady employment. The unemployment rate in 1964 was set at 18 per cent and the median family income was below $3,000.

Since there are practically no business establishments, such as super markets, department stores, garages or banks, most of the people's earnings are spent outside the county. The steady outward flow of money means there is little of the multiplier effect of spending essential to any economy.

To improve its economic position after termination, the Enterprises undertook a program of modernization and expansion. A reappraisal of the forest potential led in 1961 to a doubling of the amount of board feet of timber which could be cut each year. Unfortunately, the resulting increase in production and sales has not led to a corresponding increase in employment, although the net profits to the corporation have grown larger each year.

Prospects for attracting additional industrial development to the county are not considered promising, mainly because the county lacks a minimum of services to attract commercial enterprises. Good housing areas are limited and local leadership does not have the experience or capital to assist in new ventures. Nevertheless, within the past few years, local residents have obtained 16 loans from governmental sources for the development of small businesses.

A land development program with emphasis on recreation probably offers the major hope for the future. Leasing of sites for summer and year round homes will not only bring in new capital and customer potential but it will also increase the county tax base. As of September 1965, 97 such lease purchase agreements had been signed. Proposals for developing the county into park and forest recreational areas have been made by both federal and state officials. Meanwhile the Department of Resource Development of the state of Wisconsin, the Northern Wisconsin Development Project of the University of Wisconsin and the Wolf River Basin Regional Planning Commission are continuing in 1966 to explore new areas of increased economic opportunity.

Currently underway in 1966 is a Congressional study investigating possibilities of a planned resort area which would bring the tourist dollar into the county, but at the same time protect the land from haphazard and undesirable development. A bill calling for the preservation of the Wolf River as scenic waterway is also under the state legislative scrutiny.

Governmental Organization

To establish a new county equipped to carry out the everyday duties of police protection, welfare services, health and sanitary supervision and the administration of tax levies is no light undertaking. But to accomplish this in an area which is admittedly

impoverished, where unemployment is high and the tax base rests on a single industry, presented problems without precedent.

To meet the difficulties of a county without lawyers or similar professional people, Menominee was attached to Shawano county for legal purposes, including the services of the courts, district attorney and detention facilities. The new county pays all expenses involved as well as a percentage of the salaries of the district attorney and the family court commissioner.

A seven member county board of supervisors with concurrent membership on the town board was established, with Keshena designated as the county seat. Financial problems were the foremost concern. Because at the time of termination only 1.6 per cent of the homes in the county had an assessed valuation of $6,000 or more, it was evident that the corporation would bear almost the entire burden of property taxation. Today 92 per cent of the annual state, county, town and school district taxes levied in Menominee county are paid by the company. This makes clear the deep interrelationship of the Enterprises and the county and emphasizes the fact that profits from the corporation must be kept high in order to finance the county government. Since property taxes increased only 46 per cent, it is only too obvious that the financial situation is precarious.

Housing

Poor housing is one of the critical problems in the county. Less than one-third of all units in the county are in sound condition, one-third in deteriorated condition and one-third dilapidated. Sanitation is not good. Although pipe lines for water and sewage extend through Keshena and Neopit, not all the houses are connected. Only 44 per cent have indoor plumbing and only 55 per cent have running water in their homes. A considerable number of families have no source of water on the premises and must haul it from some distance.

In the past four years F.H.A. has made 40 new housing loans and 11 housing grants for $1,000 each in the county. The formation of the Menominee Housing Authority in July 1966 now paves the way for application to the Public Housing Administration for low cost housing units. It is hoped that as a beginning 25 units will be built in Keshena and 25 in Neopit.

Health

After termination, when the new county became a part of District No. 6 of the State Board of Health, intensive tuberculosis case findings were initiated, with the result that county TB costs skyrocketed from $12,400 in 1961 to $65,000 four years later. Skin

tests in the spring of 1965 showed that 60 percent of all residents reacted positively, in contrast to a figure of 20 per cent for Wisconsin residents as a whole. To assist the county in meeting this emergency, the state legislature granted an unprecedented $80,000 appropriation to the Menominees in 1964. The diabetes rate, 20 times higher for the Menominees than for the general population, is also cause for concern.

Overall, the mortality rate among the Menominees is considerably higher than it is for the rest of the state's citizens. A greater incidence of disease, an appalling number of fatal auto accidents, and a general failure to seek medical help except in emergencies, are major contributing causes.

A survey in 1965 revealed that 93 per cent of all Menominee children between 5 and 19 needed dental care. The State Board of Health approved a grant of $10,000 to be matched by an equal sum from the U.S. Children's Bureau to meet these needs. This dental work began in the spring of 1966.

Hospital care is no longer available in the county, inasmuch as the tribally operated Catholic hospital was closed soon after termination due to the fact that it did not meet state standards. There is no resident doctor in the county, although the county board has employed a public health nurse since 1960 and the State Board of Health has financed a second nurse since July 1965. At present, medical and hospital care are available in neighboring communities, but financing the costs of such care presents a major problem to the individual family.

Education

There are four grade schools in the county, two public and two parochial.

High school students go by bus to Shawano. Menominees are eligible for the vocational training scholarships and for the college scholarships offered by the state of Wisconsin. Out of a total of 54 college scholarships offered in the 1965-1966 school year, ten of the recipients were Menominee students.

The Community Action Program for Menominee county, first granted funds by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity in May 1965, has placed special emphasis on educational activities. Menominee children participated in a summer nursery school in the summer of 1965, in an "upward bound" college preparatory six-week session at Ripon College, in special training and remedial courses offered in elementary schools, and in after school study centers. Year around recreational programs are now offered to teenagers. Six VISTA volunteers have helped with these projects. In 1965 a Neighborhood Youth Corps program provided summer work for 65 young people and winter employment for 31. By November of 1965 the total CAP program expenditures

for Menominee county were $182,804.

Other groups have also worked with the Menominees, notably the Wisconsin Indian Summer Project college volunteers, the Friends of the Menominees from Wausau, the University YMCA in Madison and Peace Corps volunteers in training at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Welfare

One of the first actions of the Menominee county board was the creation of the Menominee County Department of Public Welfare and the provision for the transfer of this function from Shawano county. By October 1962 the agency had a director, a public assistance worker, a child welfare worker and one clerical assistant. At the same time the Division of Children and Youth, using federal funds, began a demonstration project to illustrate the value of a sound child welfare program provided locally by trained social workers. This demonstration program will end in 1967. The present staff of the welfare department consists of seven caseworkers, two homemakers, four clerical workers in addition to the welfare director and casework supervisor. Administration costs approximated $40,000 in 1965, but with state and federal funds bearing the larger proportion, net costs to the county were not as high as might be expected.

In 1965 approximately one out of every 40 persons in the state of Wisconsin received some form of public assistance; in the same year in Menominee county one out of every six persons was receiving some kind of aid. The average cost per Menominee of $7.43 was over four times the average of the state cost as a whole. The following figures show the distribution of the aid in the month of September, 1965:

Program	Number of Persons	Amount
Aid to Dependent Children	258	$10,092.57
Aid to Dependent Children in Foster Homes	55	2,592.82
Old-Age Assistance	43	3,588.37
Aid to the Disabled	28	2,938.40
Aid to the Blind	5	351.50
General Relief	37	502.35
TOTAL	426	$20,066.01

Federal and state grants assumed the major burden of the costs:

Government	Amount	Per Cent
Federal	$10,127.74	50.5%
State	6,402.59	31.9
County and Town	3,535.68	17.6
TOTAL	$20,066.01	100.0%

It is worth noting that the aid of dependent children has more than tripled since termination. This in no way indicates that the problem has become more acute. Rather it shows that the need of these children has been discovered through individual casework. The earlier the problems of neglect are encountered, the greater the chances are that they will be dealt with successfully. Money spent on prevention lowers the total costs in the long run.

Looking to the future, when it will be no longer necessary to deal only with emergencies on a salvaging basis, the county welfare department plans an increase in preventative type service.

To aid county residents in meeting their own welfare needs, the Wisconsin legislature established a special fund of one million dollars in December 1963 to enable Menominees to borrow money, pledging their Enterprises income bonds as security. These bonds, worth $3,000 each and earning four per cent a year, had been issued to the people as their share in the Enterprises. To prevent the dissipation of these bonds among outside interests, the law provided this alternative to selling the bonds. The State Department of Public Welfare, which administers the program, now holds bonds valued in excess of $1.7 million.

The Future

During the past ten year period from 1955 to 1965 the legislature enacted 22 bills and passed eight joint resolutions pertaining to the Menominees. Most of this legislation has resulted from the work of the Menominee Indian Study Committee which was established in 1955 to study the transition problems and make specific legislative proposals. The committee's ten year report published in April 1966 recommended the development of a long-range plan by state, federal and county officials to assist the Menominees to achieve lasting economic and social stability. At the same time solution to the immediate needs for capital, industry, jobs and government leadership should be sought.

A bill is now pending before Congress which would aid in the achievement of the long-range goals. The Nelson-Laird Bill was drafted to provide ten years of support for education, health, and welfare, to finance careful economic planning, and to grant the long-term loans needed to establish a stable economy. Specifically the bill calls for almost $2.9 million in grants and $5 million in long-term loans to the county. This bill would in effect recognize the obligation of the federal government to aid in bringing Menominee county up to acceptable state standards after having turned over what amounted to a deficit area to the state. While this bill itself may not become law, it is hoped that individual provisions and grants will achieve the same purpose.

In any summation of the present and the future of the county, foremost consideration and importance must be given to the Menominees themselves. Their record of accomplishment, despite the sometimes bitter conflict and factionalism, has been a good one. The county and town boards are directing a multi-million dollar governmental operation with responsibility and imagination. The Enterprises are showing increasing profits with the years. While many of the Indians were initially opposed to termination and were unhappy with the proceedings, and others showed indifference to their new responsibilities of self-government, nevertheless the great majority of Menominees have worked together for their own self-improvement. They have taken major strides in health, housing, education and economic welfare. As Indians they have rapidly adapted themselves to a new way of life. To expect them to move at a faster pace or to comform completely to the white man's ways, is neither reasonable nor realistic. The Menominees have already shown determination and courage in dealing with termination. For the years to come they will need not only financial aid and economic aid, but also general understanding and cooperation as they strive to achieve a secure life in Wisconsin.[7]

In 1969 the Menominee Indian Study Committee prepared a report to the Wisconsin Governor and Legislature on the status of the Menominee Indian community.[8] The report estimated the population of Menominee county at 2,836 persons as compared to 2,515 at the point of termination. The 1969 population estimate placed Menominee county at the bottom of the counties in the state. Of the 1969 residents, it was estimated that 1,044 were enrolled tribal members, 1,644 were "either descendants of enrolled members or unenrolled members," and the remaining 148 persons were non-Indians. The study committee also estimated that about nine per cent of Menominee county's population had emigrated between 1960 and 1965, but it noted that two neighboring counties (Shawano and Langlade) actually had higher rates of emigration. Some other characteristics of Menominee county pointed out by the study committee were as follows:

1. a high migratory rate offset by high birth and low death rates;
2. the highest birth rate in the state - nearly double the state average;
3. about two more children per family compared with the state average;
4. about one fourth of 107 births classified as illegitimate in 1967;

5. an illegitimacy rate about five times the state average between 1963 and 1967;

6. a low death rate attributed to the "scarcity of elderly people and the excess of youths;"

7. a limited working force and an overabundance of dependents "due to the peculiar patterns of migration, birth, and death;"

8. a proportion of 57 per cent of the residents under the age of twenty and 6 per cent over the age of 65;

9. of the working age population, 13 per cent between the ages of 21 and 34, and 24 per cent between the ages of 35 and 64;

10. the lowest annual per capita income ($881) in the state for 1965 (annual per capita income was $1656 for nearby counties and $2404 for the state);

11. household earnings indicate that 76.8 per cent of Menominee county families have incomes below $3000 per year (a figure high for surrounding counties but indicating considerable gain from previous years);

12. the highest unemployment rate in the state, with 24.4 per cent of the work force unemployed in 1968;

13. about 46 per cent of Menominee county's residents received some type of public assistance during 1966, with 80 per cent of those receiving assistance being children;

14. medical assistance accounted for about 55 per cent of the welfare case load;

15. substantial improvements in health problems have been made, especially in the detection and treatment of tuberculosis, but substantial difficulties related to early infancy diseases, alcohol, pneumonia, and diabetes continue (the incidence of diabetes in the county averages about six times that of the state).

All of the previous socioeconomic characteristics of Menominee county are interrelated and have their effects upon the education of Menominee Indian children. While this research project plans to treat the educational background of Menominee county in a separate paper, it is useful to be reminded that socioeconomic and sociocultural background factors cannot be reviewed without occasional attention to Menominee education characteristics.

Therefore, the paragraphs concerned with education from the 1969 Menominee Study Committee Report are reviewed below at this time:

Education

Elementary

For operational purposes, Menominee County is part of Joint School District No. 8. The majority of the 994 elementary school children attend the four schools in the county. The public school programs at Neopit and Keshena include kindergarten through sixth grades. In addition, both public schools have pre-school programs. Public education after sixth grade is continued at various schools within the school district. Keshena and Neopit each have parochial school grades one through eight. From ninth to twelfth grades, students attend either Gresham or Shawano High Schools.

New facilities have been added to the schools in Joint School District No. 8. Since termination, a classroom has been added, the library and office remodeled, and the playground enlarged at the Neopit school. The school at Keshena, which is new, has nine classrooms, a gymnasium, library, and kitchen. Shawano High School, Franklin, and Gresham schools have also obtained additional facilities.

The two public schools in the county are now directed by a full-time administrator. All staff members are certified. In addition, special teachers for physical education, art, and music have been employed.

Funds available under Titles I, II, III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 have been concentrated on the educational programs in Menominee County.

Title I funds have been utilized for school programs for four year olds. The program is staffed by two full-time certified teachers and four aides. Approximately 25 children have participated in the program since it was initiated in 1966.

Since 1966 a summer school program for pre-school children has been held. The programs at Gresham and Shawano Junior High have emphasized fundamental skills and social adjustments.

A special materials biology program is held at Shawano High School. The majority of students enrolled are Menominees who have been unable to cope with the regular course. Since its innovation three years ago, the program has successfully aided students in becoming active class participants. Due to

the popularity of the course, the school has initiated a similar physical science course, which is not funded by Title I.

Title I funds have also been used to establish libraries at Keshena and Neopit. Each library has a full-time certified librarian and an aide.

A full-time registered nurse, a visiting teacher-social worker, and a remedial reading consultant have been employed under Title I. Besides consulting with classroom teachers, these workers serve as liaison between the school and the parents.

Title II funds have been used to purchase library books, filmstrips, and overlays. Since 1966, $29,247.81 of Title II funds and $33,097.58 of district funds have been expended for these purposes. Special allocations in the 1966-67 biennium were expended at Keshena and Neopit.

1968-69 ENROLLMENT

School	Grades	No. children	No. Indian Children	% Indian Children
Neopit Public	K-5	171	167	97.7%
Neopit Public	Pre-school	30	30	100.0
Keshena Public	K-5	200	184	92.0
Keshena Public	Pre-school	36	34	94.2
Gresham	7-12	224	68	30.4
Gresham	K-6	267	61	22.8
Franklin	6-8	572	116	20.3
Lincoln	K-5	423	50	11.8
Olga Brener	K-5	536	2	.03
Shawano High School	9-12	1,085	173	15.9
Total Public.....		3,544	885	25.0%
(Private)				
St. Joseph, Keshena	1-8	140	140	100.0%
St. Anthony, Neopit	1-8	142	142	100.0
Total Private.....		282	282	100.0%
Total Combined.....		3,826	1,167	30.5%

Source: Kingston, Alan, "Summary Report of Progress Made in Menominee County Public Schools Since 1961." February, 1967.

EXPENDITURE OF TITLE II FUNDS

School	Total Library Books	Purchased Title II	Film Strips	Purchased Title II	Over-Lays	Purchased Title II
High School	9,695	1,312	597	-0-	-0-	-0-
Lincoln	7,250	883	817	-0-	-0-	-0-
Keshena	7,545	1,000	485	57	433	125
Neopit	4,000	600	275	47	25	-0-
Franklin	6,278	956	34	-0-	-0-	-0-
Olga Brener	4,401	1,879	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Gresham (K-12)	3,400	670	467	-0-	1	-0-
Totals	42,569	7,300	2,675	104	459	125

Source: Kingston, Alan, "Summary Report of Progress Made in Menominee County Public Schools Since 1961." February, 1969.

In order to improve the basic concepts and skills in communication, arts, and mathematics for primary grade students, the school district applied for Title III funds. The resulting program provided computer assistance so that students could learn on a self-paced basis. The program is primarily utilized in grades one through three in the Neopit and Keshena Schools.

Adult Education

Other than the vocational training programs previously mentioned, various adult education programs are conducted in Menominee County. Since 1964 these classes have included courses in beginning typing, public speaking, weaving, and upholstery. Approximately 100 Menominee adults have attended these classes.

Higher Education

As with other Wisconsin Indians, Menominees are eligible for Indian college scholarships (Ch. 545, Laws of 1963). To be eligible, an Indian (1/4 or more Indian blood) must be a Wisconsin resident, have the capacity for college work, and be in the upper two-thirds of his high school class.

> As of March 1969, 34 Menominee Indians had received such scholarships. Six of the students were in their fourth year of college. Twelve had completed between two and three years of college. The other students had completed one year or less of college.
>
> Title I funds - Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 - have been utilized in the Upward Bound Program. This program provides pre-college experience for potential college students.[9]

Menominee Enterprises, Inc.

In 1854 a treaty called for the provision of 234,000 acres as a reservation for the Menominees. Under that and subsequent provisions for the Menominee, the state of Wisconsin was essentially absolved from a great deal of worry about these Indians. In 1908, a sawmill was started on the reservation and operated under federal control. In 1951, the Menominee Indians obtained satisfaction on an 8.5 million dollar lawsuit with the United States government, stating that the government had mismanaged the operations of the sawmill with direct financial losses incurred by the tribe. Funds obtained from the suit were placed in trust, even though the Menominees would rather have had the money distributed on a per capita basis among the people. In 1954, concerned with obtaining funds they thought were due them, the Menominee voted for the termination which resulted in the supersession of the Menominee Indian reservation by Menominee county, Wisconsin's 72nd and poorest. To handle the operations of the sawmill, a corporation named Menominee Enterprises was formed. Menominee Enterprises became the basis of a "corporate" tribe in which enrolled Menominee were to receive 100 shares of stock in the company, plus a $3,000 bond at four per cent interest. This stock was declared non-negotiable until 1971 (the bonds until 1964) in order to insure that outside interests would not gain important control over the company. All land in Menominee county formerly held by the tribe was titled to Menominee Enterprises.

> Tribesmen paid for their new freedom in several ways. Consider land: Menominees could purchase personal property from the corporation, by using their bonds or portions of them. But they were buying land which they had always lived on and which had reverted to the corporation. Tribesmen who

> wished to live in Menominee County then were literally buying back land on which they and their families had lived for generations![10]

Aside from the obvious complications from such an arrangement, individual Menominees appeared to be losing income on such transactions, because the bonds provided only four per cent interest annually. Today, a Menominee cannot sell his stocks by himself on the open market - he may only sell them to the corporation, losing in the process all or part of his vote in the corporation's functions. Further complications revolve around the question of welfare assistance. To help Menominees who are ineligible for welfare aid, a fund of one million dollars was established by Wisconsin in 1964 when the income bonds became negotiable. It became possible for individual Menominee to pledge their bonds in return for financial aid, and by the end of 1964 only two hundred thousand dollars remained in the fund. Two years later, this amount had dropped to $42,000. After the removal of the federal exemption associated with reservation status, Menominee Indians became responsible for paying taxes on their county lands. Originally, Menominee Enterprises controlled all of the county's land, and thereby was responsible for all of its taxes. In 1969 the corporation still was responsible for 90 per cent of the county's tax base, but individual Menominees who had desired their own land and had become responsible for taxes were often unprepared to pay them when due. Menominee county has been likened to a rural ghetto whose "suburbs" (nearby counties) feed upon it with successful avarice. After several years of heavy financial difficulty, together with threats of liquidation, Menominee Enterprises appears to be in a less dangerous financial position. The corporation has contractually arranged to turn over approximately 5,000 acres of land to outside interests in an attempt to ease its tax burden. This acreage will provide attractive homesites for several hundred tourists and retired people and will mark the beginning of what could become a general depletion of choice construction sites in the county. Financial and other problems which result in such desperate attempts to preserve Menominee Enterprises support the contentions of some that the Menominee people may not yet be generally prepared to deal with the complexities of corporate structure, financing, and conduct:

> Clyde Atwood, an Indian [from Oklahoma] and the director of the Community Action Program in the county,, says: "The Menominees haven't really bridged the gap from the way they used to liye to the present." Atwood goes on to say that the Menominees "don't really understand how they fit into the corporation."[11]

Further details of the organizational and financial history of Menominee Enterprises, Inc. are contained in the 1969 report of the Menominee Indian Study Committee. Selected portions of that report are reproduced here for the purpose of further detailing the history and current condition of Menominee Enterprises and to expand further on the development of county land for seasonal dwelling purposes.

Organization

When termination was finalized, Menominee Enterprises, Inc. (MEI) became operative. Title to the tribal lands, including the forest and sawmill at Neopit, was transferred to MEI. Under the articles of incorporation, MEI was granted authority to issue 330,000 shares of common stock.

Each of the tribe's 3,270 officially enrolled members were issued title to 100 shares of MEI common stock at the par value of $1.00. Legal heirs inherited title to the shares of deceased tribal members.

The First Wisconsin Trust Company of Milwaukee, which has guardian-like powers, acts as trustee for the minors and incompetents of the tribe. The trustee holds and administers assets until minors attain the age of 21. Upon court findings that incompetency no longer exists, incompetent beneficiaries receive their share of the assets. Approximately 21 percent of the stock is presently being held by the trustee. It is projected that by 1975, First Wisconsin Trust will hold only 2 percent of the stock.

However, the voting power of the trustee has been disproportionate to the number of shares held. The percentage of First Wisconsin Trust Company vote to the total vote has ranged from 80 percent in 1961 to 92.8 percent in 1966. Only in the years of 1962, 1964, and 1968 was the trustee elected without the First Wisconsin's vote.

In exchange for the original shares of stock, MEI has issued voting trust certificates. The certificates may not be sold or negotiated before January, 1971. After that date, Menominee Enterprises, Inc. has the option to purchase the

certificates at the proposed sale price. If MEI does not purchase these certificates, the State of Wisconsin then has the option to buy. If, before this date, certificates are made a gift or willed to a person not a member of the owner's family, the same options exist.

In May, 1969 certificate holders were given the option to extend the January, 1971 deadline until January 1, 1974. Approximately 51.2 percent of the certificate holders voted for the proposed extension. Resolutions favoring the extension were adopted by Menominee Common Stock and Voting Trust, and the Board of Directors and MEI. Senate Bill 700, which would amend s. 231.45 of the statutes and allow such an extension, has been referred to the Committee on Labor, Taxation, Insurance, and Banking.

PROJECTED VOTE OF MENOMINEE ENTERPRISES, INC.
COMMON STOCK BY FIRST WISCONSIN TRUST
COMPANY, TRUSTEE OF THE MENOMINEE
ASSISTANCE TRUST

Year	Total	Enrolled Minors	Incompetents	Unenrolled Minors
1969	59,754	52,298	7,053	403
1970	51,223	43,767	7,053	403
1971	42,364	34,908	7,053	403
1972	32,604	25,148	7,053	403
1973	21,856	14,400	7,053	403
1974	13,009	5,553	7,053	403
1975	7,456	-0-	7,053	403

Source: Letter to Reuben LaFave from First Wisconsin Trust Company, August 20, 1969.

The official shares of stock are held by the Menominee Common Stock and Voting Trust, which consists of four tribal and three non-tribal members. Members of the trust are elected by the certificate holders, including the First Wisconsin Trust Company, for a seven year period.

This year, 1969, represents the first year that all membership of the trust have been elected by certificate holders. In the first year of its existence, the General Council elected the tribal representatives. The Coordinating and Negotiating Committee nominated the four non-tribal members, whc were subject to the approval of the General Council. The initial trustees drew lots to determine their

length of tenure ranging from one to seven years. Each year since 1961, the certificate holders have elected a trustee to replace the member whose term had expired.

Members of the Board of Directors,who determine and direct the policies of MEI, are elected by the Menominee Common Stock and Voting Trust for three year periods. The Board consists of seven tribal and five non-tribal members. The latter are specifically chosen for their ability in financial and business matters.

Officers of MEI, who are selected by the Board of Directors, serve at its pleasure. As originally organized, MEI had one president, two vice-presidents, one secretary, and an assistant secretary. Recently two executive managerships were created to direct the mill forestry and the resource and business development divisions.

The President of MEI acts as executive manager of the Forestry-Mill Division. The manager has direct supervision over the supervisors of the logging, mill, and lumber sales operations, the chief forester, the budget controller of this division, and the office manager. As executive manager he has the authority to hire, train, assign, and release personnel. His duties also include planning and analyzing production and cost projections; establishing potential markets and income projections; upgrading manpower, capital improvements and finances.

The executive manager of the New Resource and Business Development Division has direct supervision over the budget controller and supervisors of lake properties, Visitors Destination Center, and the business, industrial and service development subdivisions. The executive manager's duties include the analysis of the physical and economic feasibility of new enterprises and possible services. Also included in these duties is the responsibility to make the necessary contacts with the county residents, agency officials, and corporations. Although responsible to the president, the manager has a high degree of autonomy with the authority to hire, train, assign, and release personnel.

Both managers are expected to maintain a close liaison with one another and to utilize all informational and educational assistance available.

Industrial Development

Until recent years, Menominee Enterprises, Inc. has been a lumber oriented industry. Thus MEI's financial statements chiefly reflect the operating performance of the mill.

As of 1968, MEI had assets totaling $18,597,299 as compared to $17,577,161.44 in 1961. Since 1961, MEI has shown a profit before the payment of the bond interest. Not until 1965 did MEI show a profit ($65,618) after this payment. In 1968 after the bond interest payment, MEI reported a profit of $229,992.

Forest Operations

Under the termination act, it was required that the Menominee Forest be managed under a sustained-yield system. Section 70.335, Wis. Stats. provides for such a sustained-yield management plan. Originally 221,696 of the 233,902 acres in Menominee County were enrolled under this system. Since then, approximately 1,305 acres have been withdrawn for other land use. It is anticipated that eventually a total of 5,000 acres will be withdrawn for the "Lakes of the Menominees" project.

Due to the findings in the 1964 Continuous Forest Inventory Study, MEI in 1966 reduced its sustained yield cut from the forest. Approximately five to seven million board feet are being purchased from other mills so that MEI can fill customer orders.

The inventory study was also the basis for a 15 year Forest Management Plan, 1968-1982, which has been approved by the Department of Natural Resources (formerly the Conservation Commission). Under this plan 22,000,000 rather than 30,000,000 board feet will be harvested annually. This is an approximate 25 percent reduction. It is expected that MEI sales will drop proportionately.

There have been questions of whether or not the present management plan accurately assesses allowable cut. It has been proposed that another study be conducted in order to resolve these questions.

In order to facilitate industrial development, Ernst and Ernst proposed that the mill could be equipped for the production and sale of veneer, dimension or furniture stock, coreboard, and charcoal. Feasibility tests on these products have not been conducted.

Other Industrial Development

In 1966, an electronic sub-assembly plant employing ten people was established in Menominee County. Other industrial development has been virtually non-existent.

Recreational Development

In 1967, Ernst and Ernst, under the auspices of the Economic Development Administration, completed a technical assistance study of Menominee County. In order for the county to attain economic self-sufficiency, Ernst and Ernst recommended that recreational resources be developed. It was proposed that recreational development be restricted to an area approximately 23 square miles or 6.2 percent of the total land area. On September 23, 1967 MEI's voting certificate holders endorsed the proposed Eastern Economic Development Zone but limited it to 8,760 acres or approximately 3.7 percent of the total land area.

Lakes of the Menominees

It was proposed that the development area include two large lakes (West Lake and East Lake) created from a series of smaller ones. This would create space for summer homes and allow for the expansion of the Forestedge Homesite Program.

As proposed by Ernst and Ernst, West Lake would be created by a dam west on Wah-Toh-Sah Lake and incorporate Wah-Toh-Sah and Skice Lakes. The resulting lake (Legend Lake) would have a circumference of 7.2 miles.

The proposed East Lake, 7.6 miles in circumference would be created by a dam between Moshawquit and Pywaosit Lakes. Blacksmith, Sapokesick, and Pywaosit Lakes would be incorporated into this proposed lake.

In order to implement plans for the East and West Lake developments, MEI entered into a partnership called the "Lakes of the Menominee" with N.E. Isaacson and Associates Inc. on July 9, 1968. "Lakes of the Menominees" has since requested permits from the Department of Natural Resources for construction of the East (Spirit) and West (Legend) Lakes dams.

On January 7 and 8, 1969, a Natural Resources hearing was held on the applications for permits to (1) construct, operate and maintain a dam in Linzy Creek at the outlet of Blacksmith Lake (3-wr-319); (2) construct a channel between the proposed East Lake and Legend (West) Lake and to connect Spring and Legend Lakes (3-WR-419); and (3) to divert water from Linzy Creek to Legend Lake to maintain the level of Legend Lake (3-WR-418).

The Department of Natural Resources, on March 12, 1969 issued an interlocutory order authorizing applicants to complete construction on a temporary diversionary dam in order to divert

water from Linzy Creek (3-WR-418). A permit for the dam in Linzy Creek at the outlet of Blacksmith Lake (3-WR-319) was issued on August 4, 1969. The July 7, 1969 hearing on the "Lakes of the Menominees" application for a permit to construct, operate, and maintain a dam in the Pywasosit Lake outlet of Linzy Creek was adjourned pending results of a hearing (3-WR-581) on an alleged violation of the Isaacson firm. The results of the hearing on the violation, which was held on September 10, 1969, have not been released.

Presently it is projected that by 1974 the "Lakes of the Menominees" will increase the residential tax base by $18,520,800. As projected, the project will constitute approximately 47 percent of the estimated residential tax base and approximately 45 percent of the estimated assessment base, which includes mercantile base.

Since this project is geared towards seasonal inhabitants, it is expected that while increasing the assessment base it will not incur the cost for such county services as welfare and schools.

An estimated 2,600 (1,200 on-shore and 1,400 off-shore) lake lots can be developed from the "Lakes of the Menominees." Warranty deeds rather than leases have been issued to purchasers. From July 13, 1968 to October 5, 1969, the 698 sales totaled $3,749,910. Over one-half of these sales have not been finalized. It is projected that all the lots will be sold by 1974 and that total sales will reach $11,140,400. Projected net profit for the project is $5,086,130. As of October 5, 1969, the average sale prices were $7,060 for 392 on-shore lots; $3,055 for 284 off-shore lots; and $5,440 for waterway lots.

Visitor Destination

In their report, Ernst and Ernst also recommended the construction of a year-round multi-recreational resort complex in the Eastern Economic Development Zone. It was proposed that this complex would provide the public with recreational opportunities including boating, fishing, camping, horseback riding, skiing, golfing, hiking, and snowmobile trails. Ground was broken for the proposed Visitor Destination Center on August 30, 1969.

It is anticipated that the proposed center, in the Keshena vicinity, will include such resort oriented facilities as a 200 room hotel-motel with a bar and dining room, meeting and convention rooms, souvenir and gift shop, nature awareness and cultural centers, logging camp area and museum. Besides these facilities, a branch bank, beauty salon and barber shop, co-op store, and a professional building are also slated for conclusion.

It is anticipated that these establishments will create approximately 290 jobs of which only 20 percent would be seasonal. Approximately ten percent of the county's population could be employed.

Estimated costs for the total project range from $880,000 to 1,250,000. On June 14, 1968 the Economic Development Administration and the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission approved grants of $1,023,000 for the project. As of July 9, 1969, $17,321 had been expended by MEI for the center.

The Co-operative Store, the only profit making establishment which has been contracted, is 65 percent completed. A $223,000 loan for completion was secured from the Farmers Home Administration.[12]

Menominee Termination

Termination of the Menominee reservation, as might be expected, has caused the emotions of many non-Indians to soar. In 1964 Gary Orfield delivered himself of a "Statement on Menominee Termination" at Neopit, Wisconsin. The statement began as follows:

Mr. Chairman:

The Menominee people have been the object of a vast social experiment, based on the reactionary principle that people can be made "free" only by removing needed government services and protections. That experiment has failed, as have similar experiments in the past. Largely because of the concern and caution of the Wisconsin State Government, that failure has not been irreversible. The Menominee people and the State of Wisconsin have patiently and diligently attempted to make a success of termination, but their best efforts have only succeeded in reducing the size of the disaster. The termination experiment has been tried and found inadequate. It should now be ended.

Orfield's testimony outlined four goals of the termination experiment: (1) to in effect make the Menominees taxpayers; (2) to provide for local control over property; (3) to shift the "center of governmental relations of the tribe from the federal to the state and local levels;" (4) and to "save money." Pointing to numerous misconceptions and questionable intentions on the parts of non-Indians involved, Orfield's testimony called for a "thorough study of the tribal business organization" which would even look into the motives and operations of some Indian people:

The annual reports of Menominee Enterprises, Inc., are filled with reports of success and predictions of prosperity, but one hears a very different story from many Menominees. Tribal leaders report deep divisions on the Voting Trustees and the Board of Directors between the Menominee and outside members. Long-experienced Menominee workmen report gross incompetence on the part of the corporation's first two presidents and many of the people they brought in to fill top positions. It is charged that Indians are discriminated against for the better positions, and that anyone voicing opposition to the corporation is fired. Similarly, it is asserted that the corporation has successfully attempted to dominate the local government institutions.

Perhaps the most important allegations, however, relate to the financial standing of the corporation. Even with direct assistance from the sale of property and of the electricity system, and with indirect assistance from the welfare department's bond program, the corporation has lost money. Sales have lagged far behind predictions, and the vitally important reserve capital has continually diminished.

Expensive equipment has been bought only to learn that it cannot be used successfully in the Menominee forest. Menominee Enterprises, Inc., we were told, would be able to meet the next interest payment on the bonds, but it would mean almost eliminating the reserve. Some assert that the corporation's reserve is now less that $250,000, or less than one-eighth the amount considered necessary when the forest was under federal supervision. Clearly, Menominee Enterprises is at the mercy of any market fluctuation.

> An investigation of these allegations is urgently needed (with subpoena powers if possible), as is a full audit and report on the financial condition of the tribal business. <u>This report might well be the prelude to a move requesting resumption of some form of federal trusteeship</u>. There can be few groups in Wisconsin who have borne more and now deserve more from the federal government than the Menominees. It is the responsibility of the State to make this need to make this need known and to demand that action be taken.[13] [Emphasis added]

In an article many might appreciate for its honesty, clarity of analysis and program suggestions, David W. Ames and Burton R. Fisher, writing in the <u>Journal of the Wisconsin Indian Research Institute</u>, set forth an analysis and catalogue of program suggestions which they felt ran the risk of alienating some involved persons:

> With full awareness, the authors decided to include in this paper references to many sensitive areas in human relations

> associated with the termination problem. They recognize that "ammunition" will be sought and found. Their hope is that such insights as they have had may have constructive application, and make that risk worth taking.[14]

Interesting enough in itself, but especially because the article was written in the mid-1950's, the Ames-Fisher paper stated that "most Menominees would prefer to maintain the present federal guardianship status rather than accept termination."[15] Continuing, they added that many Menominees felt they were being bribed or coerced into accepting termination, and that this condition was "a poor psychological foundation for a program which demands the utmost cooperation and effort of the tribal membership."[16] Ames and Fisher noted that programs developed on the outside and forced upon the Menominee would likely result in little constructive adaptation; nevertheless, the authors pointed out that changes were needed on the reservation and that some stimulus might be necessary to spur Menominee interest in originating and managing needed changes. Ames and Fisher noted a considerable amount of anxiety in Menominee discussion about termination, and observed that this anxiety seemed to be especially located in middle-aged and old Menominee people. Some of the statements made by these people were characterized, according to Ames and Fisher, by "dread of the outcome, and extreme pessimism:"

> I hope I'm dead before termination comes. I have thought of giving my daughters and granddaughters sleeping pills.
>
> What the old people said about Spirit Rock is true. This is the end! The white man won't be satisfied until he makes beggars out of all of us.
>
> All is lost. Money can buy anything and then you'll have a lot of paupers on your hands.
>
> Many people fear termination [so much that] a lot of them don't even want to think about it.
>
> I don't know how we'll make it - I lay awake nights worrying about it.

Many say that they have been betrayed by the "white man" or their guardian, the federal government, and are bewildered or angry about it. One frequently hears persons who are sincerely perplexed say, "Why are they terminating us? We were getting along all right and paying our own way."

Some individual statements are more angry and bitter:

> The white man did not live up to his treaties - they took most of our land from us and now they want to take more.
>
> We will fight to the last man - you may take it away from us but you will have to take care of us.
>
> The government wanted it [termination], not the Indian - they have been lying to us for years.

Others hope for a reprieve from various sources:

> There is a higher power that will decide on this - The Almighty will never let it come about.
>
> If our land is allotted, we will sue the government, the state, and you University people. We will appeal it up to the Supreme Court if necessary and if that doesn't work, we will go to the United Nations.

Some stated, perhaps more realistically:

> There must be a loophole in the legislation somewhere, so we can stall it off.
>
> I am for stalling it off as long as we can. We should appear to be preparing for it but really just keep our wheels spinning.[17]

Ames and Fisher felt that the "prevailing pessimism" of the Menominees usually derived from a "fairly realistic appraisal" of their major problems. The authors attempted to reduce the major negative preoccupations of interviewed Menominees to one or more of five categories:

1. the fear that the Menominee Indian Mills will go bankrupt;
2. the fear of land alienation;
3. anxiety about economic security and opportunity;
4. <u>the fear that there is not enough time for the Menominees to adjust to a new way of life</u>;
5. <u>fear that intra-tribal factionalism will make any termination plan unworkable</u>. [emphases added][18]

Reviewing the Spindler analysis of social class, adaptation patterns and psychological characteristics, Ames and Fisher noted that "laboring class psychological problems" often stemmed from a poor opportunity to develop appropriate skills rather than from an inherent rejection of middle-class goals. Among the many changes which would have to be made by individual Menominees, should they be given the opportunity, were those which would require making new decisions, taking new actions, and bearing "new financial burdens as an individual, for himself and [the] family:"[19]

> For the first time, his interest in common property will be represented by alienable securities. For the first time, he may have to budget his income in order to pay for doctor's bills, property taxes, and his children's education, if he wishes to continue to send them to parochial schools. He will no longer get various types of assistance from tribal funds. The adjustment to unfamiliar state laws and regulations, which began when the Reservation came under the civil and criminal jurisdiction of Wisconsin (in August, 1963), will continue -- painful as it repeatedly has been to some members of the tribe. Then, also, he will have to live with a number of state laws which have not been enforced on the Reservation; for example, his highly cherished right to hunt and fish whenever and however and as much as he pleases is likely, upon termination, to meet up with state limits on seasons, methods, and amounts.[20]

Specifically, Ames and Fisher noted that adjustments to "outside" work conditions would be the most difficult for the "irregularly employed" and "economically dependent" person living on the reservation. Ames and Fisher also stated that the mill itself would have to undergo changes, especially in light of its previous tendency to employ the maximum number of Menominees first, and to show attention to the highest net income second.

> The mill is often referred to as an "old soldier's home" or "a vast relief organization" by some of the Menominees themselves, who are often no less critical of this pattern than "outsiders"--especially since tribal funds have become depleted to an alarming extent in recent years.[21]

Ames and Fisher, in several compact and highly valuable paragraphs, also elaborated upon the many social class problems which will be faced by irregularly employed and economically dependent Menominee persons and families.

Not only were problems to be faced by these two categories of the Menominee population work force; Ames and Fisher warned that while "perhaps one-half of the Menominees in the labor force are both steady and hard workers in terms of a reasonable non-Menominee norm,"[22] some of the most skilled and competent workers were "unsteady,"and some of the most regular were "the least productive." "In sum, not all Menominees fit the group stereotype and some clearly have demonstrated the potential to work 'like anyone else,' given a change in their social and industrial climate."[23] The authors added more:

> Many Menominees recognize that economic survival after termination will necessitate a change from a mode of operation which stresses providing employment for as many Menominees as possible to one which stresses making profit. This will probably require cutting down the number of men--ranging from supervisors to unskilled laborers--in most departments, firing and refusing to rehire poor and unsteady workers, hiring the best available workers, whether they are Menominees or not, and tightening both supervision and overall management control. All of this will certainly entail a slow and painful period of re-adjustment for many Menominees and some undoubtedly will not succeed.[24]

Ames and Fisher, predicting that significant industrial expansion would not likely develop among the Menominee, predicted that many Menominee would "likely leave the Reservation to live and work in large urban centers as some have in the past."[25] A final closure of the tribal roll would, they said, only accelerate this movement and together with other factors lead to the further erosion of Menominee genetic inheritance through increased out-marriage. What are the problems a poverty-stricken, culturally different and gradually deracinating population must face? Ames and Fisher note three problem areas which affect the ability of Menominee to compete with whites, and the Menominee as pursuants with "many relatively unique and difficult adjustments to make:"[26] (1) factions and factionalism; (2) lack of confidence in their own leadership; (3) a shortage of trained persons. On factions and factionalism, the authors state:

> ...the so-called "real Menominees"favor a re-enrollment "to get rid of those people who don't belong"--by their count, at least half of the currently enrolled members. On the other hand, some of the "upper crust" of Menominee society who want to set up a tribal enterprise to own and manage the

> forest and mill would encourage some of the "have-nots", many of whom are their political opponents, to sell out their interests in the tribal assets, with the proviso that they must never return to the Reservation to live. However, they are faced with a dilemma: if this were done, too many persons might choose to sell out, causing a "run on the bank" and the necessity of selling or mortgaging large blocks of timber to pay them off. In addition, it would be difficult to deny occupancy and residence rights to enrolled persons, in the face of state concern.
>
> In sum, at a time when cooperation and relative unanimity is of the utmost importance, the Reservation community is divided against itself to a most extraordinary degree. [emphases added][27]

On lack of confidence in their own leadership, Ames and Fisher say of the Menominee:

> There appears to be no single political faction or individual enjoying anything akin to the confidence of a majority of the people. Even Advisory Council members (the administrative body of the tribe) initially were skeptical about the ability of the Council both to draw up a workable termination plan and to carry the majority of the people for it; however, this view may have changed with the formation of the new Coordinating and Negotiating Committee, which is headed by a very capable Menominee who took leave from a responsible position with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to take this job.
>
> It is not only a question of the lack of ability and experience of the leaders. Many feel that the present leaders will act selfishly, feathering their own nests, and those of their friends and kin, just as they are alleged to do at the present time. They are compared unfavorably to the old-time Menominee leaders who "worked in the interests of the tribe as a whole." The present leaders are also accused of trying to keep the Reservation's political and economic units intact in order to keep their good jobs, and to maintain their statuses "at the top of the heap."
>
> Although the leaders usually act quite skillfully, they are sometimes myopic. They appear to be unaware or not overly concerned that cases of nepotism, or of creating jobs for themselves or for satisfying political adversaries, do not go unnoticed by the Menominee people. They may feel sufficiently strong to ignore these criticisms, but lack of confidence in their leadership may cause so many Menominees to desire to liquidate their individual interests that it will be economically and politically infeasible to keep the Reservation under Menominee control after termination.

> The widespread pattern of suspicion and distrust of Menominee leaders of any kind is also illustrated by the fact that factions-within-factions are commonplace. This is perhaps best exemplified by the "real Menominee faction, which has no single leader recognized by all of its loose membership. Each of its several aspirants to leadership are considered objectionable by some segment of the group; in fact, in two cases they are accused of themselves being illegally enrolled in the tribe! Moreover, these "leaders" mistrust each other, which is characteristic of the leadership of other factions as well. There is a long history in Reservation politics of a struggle for power, not only between the 'ins' and the 'outs' but among the 'ins' themselves. Among the 'ins' one often finds strange bedfellows who have long been known as bitter political opponents but who have worked out an uneasy truce for their mutual advantage. [Emphases added][28]

On the shortage of trained persons problems, Fisher and Ames allow that:

> Menominees generally agree that they will need at least some assistance from "outsiders." However, the tribal leadership and other "upper-crust" advocates of forming a "tribal" corporation and a separate "Menominee County" are confident of their ability to manage their own affairs with assistance from "outsiders" during the early years. Even this group recognizes that there is a need for "outsiders" with certain types of training and experience, such as: county judge, district attorney, mill manager, and several other highly skilled positions in the mill or forest. They predict that Menominee will take over some of these positions as soon as they can get the necessary training.
>
> Being "on the outside, looking in" for so many years has not helped to develop experienced and responsible personnel for positive action. On the contrary, Menominee leaders necessarily assumed the role of critics of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and developed a series of special techniques to get their own way with their federal guardians. What succeeded then was negative action.
>
> Similarly, it is not surprising that Menominees lack certain of the managerial and technical skills needed in their mills and logging operations. For many years they were excluded from the better paying managerial, supervisory, and skilled positions in their own enterprise.
>
> Unfortunately, as the Menominees, from the 1930's on, gradually took over most of the top positions in economic enterprises, tribal government and community services, some

new patterns emerged which were undesirable from the point of view of preparing them for termination. As the "upper-crust" leadership assumed greater authority, tribal membership, kinship affiliation, and the power to make political trouble became increasingly important criteria in the selection of persons for the top positions, with other criteria such as training, experience, and overall competence sometimes being subordinated to them. Generally, tribal political leaders and factions came to interfere more and more with the management of the Menominee Indian Mills, and mill managers (invariably non-Menominee) who were not "cooperative" did not last long.

Despite some of the difficulties mentioned above, the Menominee tribe does have a <u>comparatively</u> large number of leaders - actual and potential - and persons with a variety of skills to draw upon. <u>First of all, some of those in leading positions in tribal business and government are very able persons, whatever criticisms of them the Menominees themselves make</u>. Secondly, many of the young people, in particular, are receiving excellent vocational training under the Adult Ed--cational Program. Thirdly, the Menominee have a considerable potential of highly skilled and competent persons living off the Reservation who frequently left because they wanted greater opportunities for advancement. On occasion the Menominee General Council and the Advisory Council have sought the return of some of them to the Reservation to help the tribe cope with the termination crisis. Two key persons have returned. [Full sentence emphasis added in last paragraph][29]

Ames and Fisher, long before the actual inauguration of Menominee reservation as a county, noted that impressive numbers of Menominee adults seemed to prefer the transition of the reservation into a separate county. For the most part, they explained, "this [preference] can be answered in terms of several fears of real or imagined dangers that are widespread among the Menominees."[30] "Almost any adult tribal member" could be expected to refer to at least one of the following problems related to surrounding whites:

1. <u>fear of the consequences of being in the minority on a county board</u>, exemplified by the following statement:

   If we join with them, they'll take over everything.

   They'll spend our money on roads and bridges in their part of the county.

   Pretty soon they'll wangle things so that they'll have all of our land.[31]

2. <u>fear that their land will be alienated through tax delinquency</u>.

> Implicitly, at least, they reason that if land becomes tax delinquent in their own county, it will simply revert to common ownership of the tribe. They draw no distinction between a Wisconsin county, as a governmental entity, and the tribe, a social and economic entity.[32]

3. <u>fear of losing some of the unique privileges enjoyed as wards of the federal government</u>.

> Some of the Menominee assume that a county of "their own" will preserve much of their Reservation way of life--for example, the whole hunting and fishing complex, which, as mentioned above, is so important in their daily lives. They somehow wishfully connect a separate county with a greater probability of "keeping things as they are."[33]

Ames and Fisher also identified general distrust of whitemen as a distinct problem related to discussion of termination possibilities in the 1950's:

> Some of the "real Menominees" insist that most of their troubles can be traced back to intermarriage with the whites. Old-time leaders are still remembered and admired for the way they berated "the white man" in General Council meetings. The conservative native-oriented group is particularly suspicious of the white man. As one put it:
>
> Never trust what a white man tells you. The white man did not live up to his treaties and took our land, and now they want to take more from us.[34]

Ames and Fisher were particularly impressed by the sensitivity of Menominees concerning their status as native Americans. The authors observed that in some cases Menominees in all social classes appeared to go out of their way to look for slights to their Indian status; in other cases, the authors actually observed slights taking place.

> One indication of Menominee sensitivity is the often explicit fear of being patronized, ridiculed, or rejected. Uncertainty as to how they will be treated by white people and the fear of being hurt <u>helps explain the so-called Indian "face of stone," their reserve and apparent lack of emotion</u>,

which is usually attributed only to their pre-white cultural heritage. It has been our experience that Menominees rapidly change into warm, humorous, outgoing persons after they have first tested a white person and are sure that they will receive a friendly reception.

This sensitivity is often expressed by a more or less conscious attempt to avoid situations where their feelings might get hurt. A dark-complexioned woman from the "upper crust" stated with considerable emotion that she avoided bowling with her husband in Shawano because "the white people might laugh at me." Akin to this is the statement, "I can just feel it, they make fun of us behind our backs." It is not surprising that the Menominees tend to frequent establishments where they know they will receive a friendly welcome.

The Menominees are very sensitive about their skin color since it is the cue which is most often used to set them apart from other Americans. Indians of all social classes indicated sensitivity to this. "Upper-crust" men tend to select light-skinned wives. One rather dark-complexioned "upper-crust" class woman contended that her skin was dark due to a sun tan acquired while working in her garden. One of the worst insults is to be called a "black Indian." Menominees tell us that others of them who go to live in communities where their provenience is unknown sometimes prefer to pass themselves off as Italian, Spanish, or Mexican. [Emphases added][35]

Ames and Fisher offer a remarkably objective and thorough statement outlining some major alternatives for the Menominee people and their federal-state non-Indian interactants. Noting that the reservation system has tended to prevent "normal" interraction between Indians and non-Indians, and has thus acted to deprive Indians of "normal" ups-and-downs common to larger society life styles, the authors worry the question of a separate, all-Indian county for some rather similar reasons. Ames and Fisher also rightfully comment that any such major sociopolitical process as reservation termination should be anticipated by decades of human preparation for such a major change, and that, when initiated, the major change itself should be accomplished on a graduated basis according to an agreed-upon time schedule. Ames and Fisher conclude their excellent summary of pre-termination Menominee reservation conditions with some honest and pertinent questions:

> Will the Menominees have only the dubious honor of being"liberated" from their second-class citizenship, which

> was the ostensible goal of the Congress? Or, in effect, will termination only amount to "liberating" the Menominee people from their assets and from the last piece of their traditional homeland? Will it eventuate in a considerable portion of the tribal membership living in rural or urban slums - or will a healthy society, economy, and polity emerge? The last act of the Menominee drama is beginning. [Emphasis added][36]

Menominee CAP - Training Center Survey

In 1969 and 1970 the Training Center for Community Programs at the University of Minnesota cooperated in a joint survey with the Community Action Program at Menominee County. The object of this survey was to analyze existing CAP data on the characteristics of Menominee people. As the next aspect of this socio-economic and socio-cultural background report, we will analyze these data and attempt to make some summary remarks about the relationship of educational achievement to socio-economic variables.

Menominee Adult Males

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian males is based on an analysis of three hundred eighteen (318) informants' responses:

1. A majority of Menominee males are fully employed (67.3%).
2. A minority are unemployed (20.4%).
3. Union membership appears to be virtually non-existent (none detected).
4. Most Menominee adult males are married (89%).
5. In the case of those married, the majority live at home with their spouses (88.7%).
6. Most Menominee males live at home with children (71.7%).
7. A minority of Menominee males are high school graduates (23.5%).
8. Of these, a small percentage have some post high school education or training experience (5.3%).
9. About one-third of the Menominee males have completed the ninth grade or above, but are not high school graduates (30.5%).
10. Slightly less than half the Menominee males are below the poverty threshold (48.7%).

11. Of those below the poverty level income distributions ran as follows:
    a. No answer (55.7%)
    b. $0 - $499 (11.6%)
    c. $500-1499 (17%)
    d. $1500 - (15.7%)
12. The major source of income for Menominee males is as follows:
    a. No answer (1.6%)
    b. Social Security (16%)
    c. Pensions (2.2%)
    d. Welfare (7.9%)
    e. Employment (70.7%)
    f. Other (1.6%)
13. Racial make-up of Menominee males is as follows:
    a. American Indian (89.6%)
    b. Caucasian (8.8%)
    c. Mexican-American (1.3%)
    d. Other (0.3%)
14. A majority of Menominee males own their own homes (76.7%).
15. A substantial minority rent their homes (16.4%).
16. Menominee males are overwhelmingly rural, non-farm (98.1%).
17. A slight majority of Menominee males live in families numbering five or fewer in size (53.5%).
18. A substantial percentage of Menominee males live in families numbering between six and ten persons (38.4%).
19. A minority of Menominee Indian males live in families with eleven or more members (7.3%).
20. In terms of total family income most Menominee males live in households existing on less than six thousand dollars annual income (70.4%).

Menominee Adult Females

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian females is based on an analysis of ninety-three (93) informants' responses:

1. Slightly over one-half of Menominee females are unemployed (54.8%).

2. A surprising proportion of Menominee adult females are employed (25.8%).
3. Many Menominee women are widowed (52.7%) or divorced or separated (26.9%).
4. Many Menominee women are living with children at home (54.8%).
5. A low percentage of Menominee women have graduated from high school or have had post-high school training or educational experiences (11.9%).
6. Many Menominee women did not go beyond the eighth grade of formal education (37.6%).
7. About an equal portion of Menominee women terminated their formal educations somewhere between the ninth and twelfth grades (36.6%).
8. Most Menominee women live below the poverty threshold (74.2%).
9. Of those below the poverty threshold, incomes are distributed as follows:
    a. No answer (31.2%)
    b. $0 - $499 (17.2%)
    c. $500 - $1499 (40.9%)
    d. $1500 or more (10.7%)
10. The major sources of income for these Indian women were distributed as follows:
    a. No answer (4.3%)
    b. Social Security (31.2%)
    c. Pensions (8.6%)
    d. Welfare (31.2%)
    e. Employment (23.7%)
    f. Other (1.1%)
11. The racial makeup of the female respondents was mainly Indian (93.5%) with some white involvement (6.5%).
12. Slightly over one-half of the Indian respondents lived in purchased housing (55.9%), with a substantial proportion renting (31.2%) and some living in public housing (10.7%).
13. The households were overwhelmingly non-farm (97.8%).
14. Virtually all of the Menominee female interviewees were women (97.8%).
15. Most of the respondents lived in families with five or fewer members in residence (89.2%).

16. Total family income for the Menominee female respondents tended to be low, with very few earning above $5000 (6.5%) and the remaining incomes distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (11.8%)

    b. $0 - $999 (17.2%)

    c. $1000 - $1999 (25.8%)

    d. $2000 - $2999 (15.1%)

    e. $3000 - $3999 (12.9%)

    f. $4000 - $4999 (10.7%)

Menominee Adults with Post-High School Educational Experience

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian adults with post-high school educational experience is based on an analysis of twenty-two (22) informants' responses:

1. Most Menominee Indian adults with post-high school educational experiences are fully employed (90.9%), with but a small proportion unemployed (9.1%).
2. The majority of these individuals are married (72.7%) with a substantial portion divorced (18.2%).
3. Most of the interviewed persons lived at home with a spouse (72.7%) and with children (63.6%).
4. The majority of the respondents were above the poverty threshold (77.3%).
5. For those below the poverty level, incomes were distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (0.0%)

    b. $0 - $499 (9.1%)

    c. $500 - $1499 (9.1%)

    d. $1500 and more (4.6%)

6. The major source of income for these relatively educated individuals was employment (90.9%).
7. A substantial percentage of those interviewed in this category were of Caucasian background (18.2%).
8. A substantial percentage of these individuals owned their own homes (59.1%), with many renting (31.8%) and some living in public housing (9.1%).
9. All of the individuals interviewed were classified as living in non-farm households.

10. All were heads of households.
11. Most of the comparatively educated persons were male (77.3%).
12. Family size in the population category tended to be comparatively large, with slightly over one-fourth living in households of six or more persons (27.3%).
13. Total family income for this comparatively well-educated Menominee category was comparatively high with many persons earning $7000 and above (39.8%) and the others earning as follows:
    a. No answer (18.2%)
    b. $0 - $999 (4.6%)
    c. $1000 - $1999 (0.0%)
    d. $2000 - $2999 (0.0%)
    e. $3000 - $3999 (0.0%)
    f. $4000 - $4999 (27.3%)
    g. $5000 - $5999 (13.6%)
    h. $6000 - $6999 (4.6%)

Menominee Adult High School Graduates

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian adults who terminated their formal education with the completion of high school is based on an analysis of sixty-five (65) informants' responses:

1. Most Menominee Indian adults with high school diplomas or the equivalent but no further educational experiences are fully employed (89.2%), while only a few are unemployed (6.2%) or employed part-time (3.1%).
2. Most of the respondents are married (87.7%), with some divorced (6.2%) and a few widowed (4.6%).
3. Most of the respondents were living with spouses at home (84.6%) together with children (78.5%).
4. The bulk of these respondents owned their own homes (73.8%) with some renting (15.4%) or living in public units (10.8%).
5. All of the Menominee respondents with a successful high school or G.E.D. experience behind them were classified as non-farm heads of households.
6. Most of the respondents were male (89.2%).
7. Slightly over one-half of the respondents lived in families with six or more members (52.3%).

8. The great bulk of the respondents, despite their comparatively advantageous educational position, indicated less than $6000 per year as total family income:

    a. No answer (20.0%)

    b. $0 - $999 (0.0%)

    c. $1000 - $1999 (1.5%)

    d. $2000 - $2999 (16.9%)

    e. $3000 - $3999 (15.4%)

    f. $4000 - $4999 (16.9%)

    g. $5000 - $5999 (18.5%)

    h. $6000 - $6999 (1.5%)

    i. $7000 and more (9.2%)

9. According to these figures, over one-half of the respondents' families are above the poverty threshold (64.6%), with families below the poverty level having the following incomes:

    a. No answer (67.7%)

    b. $0 - $499 (9.2%)

    c. $500 - $1499 (12.3%)

    d. $1500 and more (10.8%)

10. The major source of income for this population category was overwhelmingly employment (89.2%), with Social Security of some importance (7.7%).

11. The population of this category was mainly Indian (84.6%) and Caucasian (13.9%).

Menominee Adult High School Non-Graduates

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian adults who terminated their formal education before completion of the formal twelve-year educational experience is based on an analysis of two hundred seventy-two (272) informants' responses:

1. Many of the Menominee respondents without high school diplomas or the equivalent were employed (52.6%), but many were unemployed (32.0%).

2. Most of these respondents were married (70.2%) or divorced, separated, or widowed (25.4%).

3. Over one-half of the respondents were living with spouses at home (67.6%) and with children at home (55.2%).

4. Approximately equal portions of these respondents had completed grades five through eight (45.6%) and grades nine through twelve (48.5%).

5. Over one-half of the respondents were below the poverty threshold (59.9%), with the incomes of their families distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (44.1%)

    b. $0 - $499 (12.5%)

    c. $500 - $1499 (25.0%)

    d. $1500 and more (18.4%)

6. While employment provides the major source of income for over one-half of the respondents (55.1%), other forms of income are also important:

    a. No answer (2.2%)

    b. Social Security (20.6%)

    c. Pensions (4.4%)

    d. Welfare (16.9%)

    e. Other (0.7%)

7. Most of the respondents were American Indians (93.7%) with some Caucasians (4.8%) and Mexican-Americans (1.5%).

8. Many Menominee respondents without high school diplomas or the equivalent owned their homes (69.1%), while some rented (22.4%) or lived in public housing (6.2%).

9. Virtually all the respondents were heads of households (98.6%) and were classified as having non-farm households (97.1%).

10. Most of the respondents were male (73.9%).

11. A considerable proportion of these respondents lived in families with over five members (38.2%).

12. Total family income distribution for this Menominee population category showed only 11.8% earning $6000 or above with other incomes distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (9.9%)

    b. $0 - $999 (6.3%)

    c. $1000 - $1999 (14.7%)

    d. $2000 - $2999 (15.8%)

    e. $3000 - $3999 (20.2%)

    f. $4000 - $4999 (13.2%)

    g. $5000 - $5999 (8.1%)

Menominee Adults with Unspecified Educational Experiences

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian adults who did not indicate the extent of their formal education is based on an analysis of fifty-six (56) informants' responses:

1. Many of the Menominee adults who chose not to respond to the education question were unemployed (41.1%), with a smaller proportion fully employed (37.5%) and some who were employed part-time (8.9%).
2. Over one-half of these individuals were married (57.1%) with many widowed (28.6%) or divorced or separated (7.2%).
3. Many of the respondents lived with spouses at home (55.4%) and with children at home (41.1%).
4. Most of the persons who chose not to respond to the education question were below the poverty threshold (60.7%) with their incomes distributed as follows:
    a. No answer (51.8%)
    b. $0 - $499 (19.6%)
    c. $500 - $1499 (25.0%)
    d. $1500 and more (3.6%)
5. The major sources of income for this population category in Menominee county were the following:
    a. No answer (5.4%)
    b. Social Security (32.1%)
    c. Pensions (5.4%)
    d. Welfare (14.3%)
    e. Employment (39.3%)
    f. Other (3.6%)
6. Most of the respondents were Indians (85.7%) with the remainder Caucasian (14.3%).
7. The bulk of the respondents owned their own homes (83.9%) or rented (5.4%) or lived in public housing (3.6%).
8. Virtually all respondents were heads of households (98.2%) living in residences classified as non-farm (94.6%).
9. The bulk of the respondents were male (75.0%).
10. A comparatively smaller proportion of these respondents lived in families numbering six or above (21.6%).

11. A very small proportion of these respondents reported total family incomes at the level of $6000 or above (5.4%) with other total family incomes distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (30.4%)

    b. $0 - $999 (8.9%)

    c. $1000 - $1999 (23.2%)

    d. $2000 - $2999 (8.9%)

    e. $3000 - $3999 (8.9%)

    f. $4000 - $4999 (12.5%)

    g. $5000 - $5999 (1.8%)

Fully Employed Menominee Adults

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian adults who indicated that they were fully employed at the time of the survey is based on an analysis of two hundred forty-two (242) informants' responses:

1. Menominee county respondents who classified themselves as fully employed were mainly married (87.2%) with some widowed (5.0%) and some divorced or separated (4.5%).

2. Most were living with spouses at home (85.1%) and with children at home (77.7%).

3. Menominee county respondents who classified themselves as fully employed had achieved high school graduation or beyond in a substantial portion of the cases (32.3%) with the grade attainment responses breaking down as follows:

    a. No answer (8.7%)

    b. Grades 1 - 4 (1.6%)

    c. Grades 5 - 8 (22.7%)

    d. Grades 9 - 12 (34.7%)

    e. High school graduate (24.0%)

    f. Post-high school educational experience (8.3%)

4. Of those respondents classifying themselves as fully employed, over one-half were above the poverty threshold (59.5%), with the income categories distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (64.5%)

    b. $0 - $499 (7.8%)

    c. $500 - $1499 (13.2%)

    d. $1500 and more (14.5%)

5. The major source of income for this population category was overwhelmingly employment (97.1%).
6. Most of the respondents in this category were American Indian (90.5%) with some Caucasians (7.0%).
7. Most of these respondents owned their own homes (74.4%) while some rented (16.5%) or lived in public housing (6.6%).
8. Virtually all of the respondents were heads of non-farm households (98.4%) and (97.5%), respectively.
9. Most of the respondents were male (88.4%).
10. Family size for those respondents having full employment was quite large with those persons claiming six or more individuals in their family forming nearly one-half of the responding group (48.6%).
11. About one-fifth of this population claimed total family income exceeding $6000 (18.2%), with other incomes distributed as follows:
    a. No answer (16.5%)
    b. $0 - $999 (0.0%)
    c. $1000 - $1999 (2.9%)
    d. $2000 - $2999 (12.8%)
    e. $3000 - $3999 (17.4%)
    f. $4000 - $4999 (19.4%)
    g. $5000 - $5999 (12.8%)

Menominee Adults with Part-Time Employment

The following synopsis of Menominee Indian adults who indicated that they were employed part-time at the time of the survey is based on an analysis of fourteen (14) informants' responses:

1. Most of the Menominee county respondents who classified their employment type as "part-time" were married (64.3%), while some were widowed (14.3%) or single (14.3%) or separated (7.1%).
2. Many of these respondents were living with spouses (64.3%) and with children at home (50.0%).
3. Only a few of the part-time employees of Menominee county had achieved high school graduation (14.3%), with other educational attainments distributed as follows:
    a. No answer (35.7%)
    b. Grades 1 - 4 (0.0%)
    c. Grades 5 - 8 (21.4%)
    d. Grades 9 - 12 (28.6%)

4. The majority of these respondents were below the poverty level (71.4%), with incomes in this category distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (28.6%)

    b. $0 - $499 (28.6%)

    c. $500 - $1499 (14.3%)

    d. $1500 and more (28.6%)

5. Exactly one-half of these respondents listed employment as their major source of income with other income categories distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (7.1%)

    b. Social Security (21.4%)

    c. Pensions (14.3%)

    d. Welfare (7.1%)

6. All of the respondents were American Indian.

7. Most of the respondents owned their own homes (85.7%) with the remainder renting (14.3%).

8. All the respondents were classified as heads of non-farm households.

9. Most of the respondents were male (85.7%).

10. A little over one-quarter of this population category lived in families numbering six persons or above (28.6%).

11. Only a few of these respondents listed their total family incomes as being at or above $6000 per year (7.2%), with the total income picture appearing as follows:

    a. No answer (21.4%)

    b. $0 - $999 (0.0%)

    c. $1000 - $1999 (7.1%)

    d. $2000 - $2999 (14.3%)

    e. $3000 - $3999 (35.7%)

    f. $4000 - $4999 (7.1%)

    g. $5000 - $5999 (7.1%)

    h. $7000 and more (0.0%)

Unemployed Menominee Adults

The following synopsis of Menominee adults who indicated that they were unemployed at the time of the survey is based on an analysis of one hundred sixteen (116) informants' responses:

1. Many of the Menominee county respondents who listed their employment status as "unemployed" were married (48.3%), but many were widowed (27.6%), divorced (12.1%), separated (5.2%), or single (6.0%).

2. A substantial proportion lived at home with their spouses (44.0%), but comparatively fewer lived at home with children (31.0%).

3. A comparatively small proportion of these respondents had achieved a high school diploma or the equivalent, or had had some post-high school educational experience (5.1%), with the achievement pattern emerging as follows:

    a. No answer (19.0%)

    b. Grades 1 - 4 (5.2%)

    c. Grades 5 - 8 (38.8%)

    d. Grades 9 - 12 (31.0%)

    e. High school graduate (3.4%)

    f. Illiterate (0.9%)

    g. Post-high school experience (1.7%)

4. The bulk of the unemployed respondents were below the poverty threshold (71.6%), with the income categories of these families distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (32.8%)

    b. $0 - $499 (16.4%)

    c. $500 - $1499 (34.5%)

    d. $1500 and more (16.4%).

5. The income sources for the unemployed Menominee county adult population were classified as follows:

    a. No answer (5.2%)

    b. Social Security (39.7%)

    c. Pensions (6.9%)

    d. Welfare (40.5%)

    e. Employment (6.0%)

    f. Other (1.7%)

6. The bulk of the population was American Indian (88.8%), with the remainder being Caucasian.

7. Over one-half of these respondents owned their own homes (57.8%), with some renting (30.2%) and a few living in public housing (9.5%).

8. Virtually all of the respondents were heads of non-farm households.

9. Slightly over one-half of the respondents were male (56.0%).
10. About one-quarter of the respondents lived in households with six or more members (25.9%).
11. Only a few unemployed Menominee respondents listed their total family income at $6000 or above (3.4%), with the remainder of the income categories distributed as follows:
    a. No answer (12.9%)
    b. $0 - $999 (12.9%)
    c. $1000 - $1999 (24.1%)
    d. $2000 - $2999 (17.3%)
    e. $3000 - $3999 (14.7%)
    f. $4000 - $4999 (9.5%)
    g. $5000 - $5999 (5.2%)

Menominee Adults with an Unspecified Employment Status

The following synopsis of Menominee adults who chose not to indicate their employment status at the time of the survey is based on an analysis of forty-three (43) informants' responses:

1. Menominee county residents who chose not to respond to the employment question were single (46.5%) or widowed (46.5%), with a few being divorced (4.7%).
2. A little under one-half of these respondents had spouses living at home (46.5%) while only a few had children living at home (16.3%).
3. Only a very small proportion of this population category had achieved a high school diploma or the equivalent (2.3%), with the remaining educational attainment categories appearing as follows:
    a. No answer (16.3%)
    b. Grades 1 - 4 (13.9%)
    c. Grades 5 - 8 (48.8%)
    d. Grades 9 - 12 (18.6%)
    e. Post-high school experience (0.0%)
4. The bulk of the respondents were below the poverty threshold (79.1%), with their income distributions appearing as follows:
    a. No answer (27.9%)
    b. $0 - $499 (25.6%)
    c. $500 - $1499 (41.9%)
    d. $1500 and more (2.7%).

5. The major source of income for this population was Social Security (72.1%), thus indicating prevalent respondent age levels.
6. The bulk of the respondents were American Indian (90.7%), with the remainder Caucasians.
7. Most of the respondents owned their own homes (86.1%), with some renting (9.3%) and a few living in public units (2.3%).
8. Virtually all of the respondents were heads of non-farm households.
9. The majority of the respondents were male (62.8%).
10. Only a few of the respondents lived in families with six or more members (9.3%).
11. Only a very few of the persons who chose not to respond to the employment question listed incomes of $6000 or above (2.3%), with other income categories distributed as follows:
    a. No answer (7.0%)
    b. $0 - $999 (18.6%)
    c. $1000 - $1999 (41.9%)
    d. $2000 - $2999 (14.0%)
    e. $3000 - $3999 (14.0%)
    f. $4000 - $4999 (2.3%)
    g. $5000 - $5999 (0.0%)
    h. $7000 or more (0.0%)

An Overview of Menominee Adult Males and Females

The following overview of Menominee adults who chose to answer the survey question regarding sex is based on an analysis of four hundred fifteen (415) informants' responses:

1. Over one-half of the adult respondents from Menominee county were fully employed (58.1%), while a substantial proportion were unemployed (27.9%) or employed part-time (3.4%).
2. Most respondents were married (71.6%), while some were widowed (15.9%), single (4.1%), or separated or divorced (8.2%).
3. Most of the respondents lived with spouses at home (68.9%) and with children at home (57.4%).

4. A fairly low proportion of the combined male and female adult populations had achieved a high school diploma or had had post-high school educational experiences (21.0%), with the total educational achievement picture appearing as follows:

    a. No answer (13.2%)

    b. Grades 1 - 4 (3.9%)

    c. Grades 5 - 8 (29.9%)

    d. Grades 9 - 12 (31.8%)

    e. High school graduate (15.9%)

    f. Post-high school experience (5.1%)

    g. Illiterate (0.2%)

5. A slightly larger proportion of the male and female combined populations were below the poverty threshold (54.0%) than above it, with their income levels distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (50.6%)

    b. $0 - $499 (12.8%)

    c. $500 - $1499 (22.2%)

    d. $1500 and more (14.4%)

6. The major source of income for the combined male and female populations was employment (60.0%), with other incomes derived from Social Security (19.3%), welfare (13.0%), and pensions (3.6%).

7. Most of the respondents were American Indian (90.1%) or Caucasian (8.2%).

8. Most of the respondents were heads of households (98.5%) from non-farm dwelling places (97.1%).

9. Most of the respondents were male (76.6%).

10. A good-sized proportion of the adult male and female respondents lived in households of six or more persons (37.5%).

11. A relatively small proportion of the combined male and female populations lived in families with total incomes reaching $6000 or more a year (11.8%), with all income categories distributed as follows:

    a. No answer (14.9%)

    b. $0 - $999 (5.5%)

    c. $1000 - $1999 (13.0%)

    d. $2000 - $2999 (14.2%)

    e. $3000 - $3999 (16.9%)

    f. $4000 - $4999 (14.5%)

    g. $5000 - $5999 (9.2%)

    h. $6000 - $6999 (4.6%)

    i. $7000 and more (7.2%)

Impact of the Educational Data

It is painfully obvious from the preceding data summaries that those Menominee who have completed high school and have had post-high school training or education are socio-economically far better off than those Menominee with comparatively inferior levels of formal education or training experience. The data collected in the TCCP- CAP survey on formal educational attainment are desultory enough, as were the data obtained in a twenty-five percent sample of the Menominee Indian population by the 1960 census. In that census, the years of completed formal education for males and females of Indian descent were singularly unimpressive:

Years of School Completed Males 14 Years and Over		
None		8
Elem.	1-4 years	86
	5-6 years	180
	7 years	138
	8 years	203
H.S.	1-3 years	231
	4 years	45
College		
	1-3 years	4
	4+ years	--
		895

Years of School Completed Females 14 Years and Over		
None		12
Elem.	1-4 years	31
	5-6 years	140
	7 years	132
	8 years	195
H.S.	1-3 years	197
	4 years	84
College		
	1-3 years	--
	4+ years	--
		791

Median Number of Years Completed	
National Indian Male	- 8.4 years
Wisconsin Indians	- 8.6 years
Rural non-farm	- 7.9 years
Rural farm	- 8.4 years
Urban	- 9.1 years

Median Number of Years Completed	
National Indian female	- 8.5
Wisconsin Indians	- 8.8
Rural non-farm	- 8.6
Rural farm	- 9.0
Urban	-10.3

It should also be remembered that the TCCP-CAP data indicate that unfortunately large proportions of educationally successful Menominee endure poverty and its effects. The 1960 census data also indicate high mobility within the reservation between 1955 and 1960, a 20 per cent unemployment rate for males during 1960, a settling of most employed males in the operatives and kindred or laboring categories, and an income median for males in 1959 of 1734 dollars. For all Wisconsin Indian males, 1961 dollars was the median for 1959, and 1388 dollars for both sexes. For all U.S. Indians, the male median was 1792 dollars and the combined median was 1348 dollars.

We have now seen the effects of a depressed economy upon the Menominee of the present and the past ten to fifteen years. We understand that there are demonstrable relationships between the level of educational attainment and changes in this depressing socio-economic picture of the Menominee, but we are not so certain that these relationships are as linear as some would have them. Therefore, before we leap to the conclusion that higher educational attainment "pays off" for the Menominees (or other Indians) in a reasonably linear manner, we prefer to rest temporarily with the provision that there is <u>some</u> socio-economic payoff with increased educational attainment on the part of the Menominee (some of it fairly spectacular), but that many Menominee do not appear to "respond" to comparatively greater educational attainment through increases in socio-economic indicators. This does not mean that formal education is "not good" for Menominees and other Indians; it may mean, however, that the <u>quality</u> and the <u>nature</u> of formal education for American Indians is at least as important as the <u>amount</u> of their formal education.

This concludes the first background report on the Menominee. It will be followed by a second background report on educational factors, following this report on socio-economic and socio-cultural factors.

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[22] Ibid., p. 52.

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